WORK PACKAGE 5

SOCIAL INNOVATIONS IN BARCELONA, SPAIN

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CONTENT

INTRODUCTION – SOCIAL INNOVATION IN BARCELONA

The administrative decentralization of the political structure in Spain grants regional and local councils a set of legislative and executive competencies which, in the case of social welfare services, are very far-reaching[1]. This decentralization of competencies has given considerable leeway to each territory in the design of their social protection systems. The case of the city of Barcelona is a good example for studying the main forces that have marked the way in which the social welfare system has developed at a local level. In order to understand it, we need to analyse what has happened over the last few decades. The social innovations that we find in Barcelona today are related to three basic factors: (a) the political/administrative structure of the country; (b) the specific city government and (c) the dynamics of civil society.

(a) The political/administrative structure
At the time of the first local elections after the restoration of democracy in 1979, there was no organized social welfare system in Spain. Health and education were the only areas of social policy that had not been discontinued during the dictatorship. The Spanish constitution now establishes that the autonomous communities have competency over a network of services and benefits aimed at meeting the population's needs. The state legislation on local government also establishes that cities of over 200,000 inhabitants must design their own services in this area.

(b) The specific city government
From these first local elections, and until 2010, a period of over 30 years, the city council of Barcelona was in the hands of the left (the Socialist Party won the elections and governed in coalition with two other left-wing parties). The main characteristics of the social welfare system of the city, therefore, are (1) continuity in the government team over a long period of time, (2) starting from zero, i.e. they had to build the system from scratch, and (3) citizens who – after the long period of dictatorship – wanted to be involved in political action, to participate. Municipal policymakers made the most of this potential when it came to setting up the local welfare system, as did other political actors (the opposition parties and civil society) to some extent.

The first decade, the 1980s, saw the creation of the social services network and, at the regional level, the passing of the first Social Services Act, but it was probably not until the 1990s that it could be said that the city's social welfare model was consolidated. Some years earlier, in 1987, a Social Welfare Department had been set up municipal government. It is significant that this was the first time any government body in Spain had used the term "social welfare" to define an area of political action. A ministry was later created in the government of Spain and a regional ministry in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia. For over 10 years the department was run by the same politicians, a situation which has had an impact on its development right up until today.

In more general terms, in Barcelona we find an objective that cuts across all areas of political action: the "modernization" of the city. This is a manifestation of the desire to recover the spirit of enterprise that the city once had, to recover its own brand of economic and cultural dynamism that was forbidden during the years of the dictatorship. It finds its expression in the construction of the "Barcelona model", a model that can be seen clearly in the changes in urban development as a result of the 1992 Olympic Games, the success of which was to a large extent due to the involvement of civil society (a kind

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[1] See Aguilar, Escobedo and Montagut (2011), "Local Welfare Policies in Spain: Employment, Housing and Childcare" WILCO *Work Package 2*.

of ritual act of "civil religion" as one author described it), although it also affects other areas of society.

Policymakers in the Social Welfare Department set themselves a basic goal of building a social services model that was participative. As no welfare services system yet existed, there was no widespread culture of commitment to, or participation in, the city's social welfare. The structures used to encourage and enable people to commit themselves to collective responsibilities would also have to be created (see WP4 "*The Local Welfare System in Barcelona: Core ideas*").

(c) The dynamics of civil society
Civil society in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia has traditionally been participative and enterprising, as demonstrated by the large number of cooperatives that existed in Barcelona at the end of the nineteenth century. Another example reflecting the dynamism of citizen participation is found in the "neighbourhood associations" established in different neighbourhoods of Barcelona at the end of the dictatorship in the 1970s to influence municipal politics. These associations, organized citywide as the Federation of Neighbourhood Associations of Barcelona (*Federación de Asociaciones de Vecinos de Barcelon*a, FAVB), continue to be political actors working on behalf of citizen interests (in some cases with ties to certain left-wing parties through leaders active in both). In certain actions (e.g. urban projects to rejuvenate neighbourhoods) some associations have played a role resembling that of speculators more than advocates for the interests of neighbourhood residents, which has resulted in conflicts between a particular neighbourhood association and the FAVB. There have also been some conflicts within certain neighbourhoods, which have led to the rise of new associations that aim to more closely represent citizens' interests, but even so, these different associations have managed to work together, creating strong participation networks.

The search for a "Barcelona model" has meanwhile continued ever more seriously in various political arenas, and collaboration with civil society in social welfare matters has also increased significantly, representing a force for social innovation in the city. In the following sections we present three innovative projects in the area of social welfare at the local level. These three distinct approaches – all taking place in the same period – reveal the search among the different stakeholders involved to construct or transform the local social welfare system.

2. EXAMPLES OF SOCIAL INNOVATIONS

2.1. Urban revitalization for social cohesion: The "La Mina" Transformation Plan

"La Mina", a neighbourhood built on the outskirts of Barcelona in the 1970s and segregated from the rest of the city, was designed to house a population with minimal resources that had been living in various settlements of shantytowns in Barcelona. Historically, the neighbourhood has suffered from significant shortages in terms of services and facilities. It has also been one of the most marginalized and stigmatized areas of the city, facing serious social and urban problems. Administratively, it is part of the municipality of Sant Adrià del Besòs, which borders Barcelona; however, the neighbourhood is administered by the governments of both municipalities, representing both a challenge and an innovation.

At the end of the 1990s a series of factors converged, bringing about favourable conditions for improving the neighbourhood: an awareness of the pressing need to intervene in the social situation in the neighbourhood, linked with the presence of very active neighbourhood associations and the pressure resulting from urban reform in areas around la Mina through major projects such as the 2004 Universal Forum of Cultures and the 22@

Barcelona Innovation District, among others. In 2000 the "Transformation Plan for the Neighbourhood of la Mina" (PTBM in Spanish) was launched, financed through the URBAN II programme with funding from FEDER. La Mina was also part of a pilot project of the Local Social Capital programme of the European Social Funds.

The plan has various characteristics that explain its inclusion as a case study in the WILCO project, in particular, the comprehensive character of the intervention planned, which was innovative in comparison to other approaches that had been taken previously. *"The objective is to transform the neighbourhood through an integrated and comprehensive intervention aimed at strengthening the community in the medium and long-term, leading to complete normality..."*(*Plan of Action*, pp. 11). The essential link between urban transformation and social intervention was something completely new in local planning and based on the joint participation of professionals from diverse fields (architects, economists, educators and social workers).

2.1.1. Types of services and ways of addressing users

The La Mina Transformation Plan has included a whole set of social inclusion activities that have been aimed at improving the economic and social conditions of a very deprived population. Most of these activities have been classical labour market integration programs, but some social micro-management interventions have been developed as well.

Labour market integration programs have been boosted in the neighbourhood, and have included some innovations, specially linking more closely training schemes and real job opportunities, following training for specific jobs on the job model. The increase and reorientation of training activities seems to have had quite a positive impact as long as the economic boom in the 2000s increased the demand of labour. The employment crisis since 2008 has drastically reduced employment opportunities for a very underprivileged population. But however successful and to some extent innovative these programs may have been, there has been no significant change in the way users have been conceived and addressed.

The main field in which "users" have been treated differently from the traditional approach to the neighbourhood has been the participation process affecting the urban transformation program. The PTBM participatory approach has led to changes in the way of addressing users, but had different stages. In the beginning (2001), there is a willingness on the part of different actors (social and neighbourhood organizations and governments) to make participation a central axis of the whole process. At this time, it is developed a proposal of participatory and community project which considered the interests and decisions of neighbours in the transformation of their neighbourhood. In the second stage the project moved from looking for direct involvement of neighbours and sharing the projects with them through assemblies, to creating joint working groups (entities and technical representatives) and hold regular meetings and informative sessions. In a third step, which coincided with the change of regional government, this model of participation was weakened when the PTMB chose for hiring entities out of town for the management of labour and social services, instead of enhancing the associative linked to neighbourhood.

2.1.2. Internal organisation and modes of working

The PTBM is characterized by a complex structure in which wide networks of social agents participate. The plan is managed by the La Mina Neighbourhood Consortium, which includes representatives from different levels of government: the two local governments, as well as the regional government. From the beginning, a network of citizen's organizations has also been involved in different phases of the process and has played an

active role in different areas. Regarding citizen participation, there is the La Mina Platform of Neighbours and Neighbourhood Organizations, which currently includes 12 organizations (although at one time it included 24 organizations) and the Neighbourhood Association of La Mina.

The participatory structure of the Plan is organized around four broad areas, which has led to the establishment of on-going work among different agents:

a) *The plan for community development*: Neighbourhood residents, experts, politicians and representatives of organizations participate. It is structured through different administrative and participatory instruments. The transversal nature of the work stands out, as do the debate roundtables, sectorial work and technical support provided for neighbourhood participants.

b) A *model of participatory urbanism,* which aims at encouraging the participation of neighbourhood residents in the design of projects through debate and proposals. What stands out in this model is the participatory instruments used (participatory workshops, sectorial meetings) as well as the technical support and information on projects provided to residents.

c) *Technical support* provided by two experts at the service of the Platform of Neighbours and Neighbourhood Organisations and the Neighbourhood Association.

d) An *Information and communication plan* designed to provide information on the project and to improve the image of the neighbourhood. There are various communication channels, among them, a space on the local broadcaster Radio La Mina.

All these structures have led to a new way of working on problems in the neighbourhood and approaching change. What has been fundamental in this process is the change in the role of neighbourhood residents, who are playing an active role in the transformation of the neighbourhood. This is not only the result of the efforts of the municipal government, but also stems from the participatory and civic tradition of neighbourhood organizations and the neighbourhood association. The association had organized debates and protests and made programme proposals to improve the neighbourhood in the past. One of these was a proposal for increasing literacy.

2.1.3. The embeddedness of the project in the local welfare system

The impact of the plan has more to do with the neighbourhood than with the local welfare system of the city. A set of actions aimed exclusively at this neighbourhood is still required. There are diverse aspects of the plan that should be mentioned:

- The participation and collective effort of different administrations on a local project that has led to greater transversality.
- The comprehensive character of the plan and the relationship between urban conditions and social cohesion.
- The organizational structure of the PTBM articulated through the Consortium and the fundamental role that the participation of neighbourhood and civic agents has had. The plan has strengthened communication channels between the different agents during its different stages and has led to a more transversal and comprehensive effort.
- The existence of a neighbourhood and civic network prior to the plan, which was maintained during the project. The members of this network have played a

fundamental role in the elaboration of the plan (by encouraging debate, developing proposals, criticising and controlling policies) and in its development. In addition, they have played a role beyond the PTBM, strengthening democracy through educating and fostering the integration and participation of neighbourhood residents. In this sense, they have acted like *schools for citizenship*.

- The involvement and the power of the intervention of the technical and professional services in the neighbourhood, with actions that have taken into account the needs of the sectors and neighbourhood groups
- The emergence and promotion of innovative activities initiated by organizations and associations in the field of training and labour insertion, reconciling work and family life, local economic development and social and educational support (like literacy projects with grandchildren and grandparents, local radio as a space for education and debate, a gym for teenagers directed by an Olympic medallist, etc.).
- Community attention to families and more needed groups, with interventions in the home and peri-domestic spaces. Specific socio-educational action in the relocation, with training and information activities on issues concerning the organization of the household
- The project has managed to open up the neighbourhood and connect it with the two adjacent municipalities (Barcelona and Sant Adrià del Besòs). One of the problematic issues in the neighbourhood was the "ghetto" that certain urban barriers had generated. The PTBM incorporated as a priority project the elimination of these barriers and the construction of a "*rambla*" surrounded by housing and other facilities along which a tram would run connecting the neighbourhood with these two municipalities.

2.2. Labour market integration for young people: *Joves amb futur* (Young People with a Future)

An increasingly serious social problem in recent years has been the growth in the number of young people dropping out of school but remaining outside of the labour market, and who, for various reasons, lack work habits, discipline and responsibility. This population has been dubbed "the NEET generation" by the media (not in education, employment or training). The programme is innovative both for its organisation (a new form of joint implementation of policy between government, business and the third sector) and because it is a response to a new social problem. We could call it a new way of bridging the gap between the administrative world and the "real world".

It was necessary to break the cycle and encourage companies to hire these young people through internship programmes. However, the onset of the economic crisis has made it increasingly difficult to get companies to accept young trainees following the regulations established for this. It is in this context that in 2007, the City Council proposed a new model for intervention that aimed to incorporate these young people in programmes to train them and to develop work habits and responsibility. This meant getting companies involved.

Young People with a Future is a programme of the Barcelona City Council, which, along with the regional government has competency over this area, and is run through the city agency *Barcelona Activa*. The idea was to have a programme that would guide and mentor young people throughout the process and whose final goal would be job placement. In other words, there was the need for specialized job training as well as training in basic competencies and good work habits. The target population was young people between the ages of 16 and 25 who had not finished basic education and were unemployed.

2.2.1. Types of services and ways of addressing users

Once the project was planned, the programme was set to run for the two year period 2010-2012. The programme offered vocational training together with training in competencies as well as an internship contracted with a company to participants who fulfilled the requirements.

Training was provided by distance learning through the Open Institute of Catalonia (IOC). Its goal was for young people to be able to obtain their secondary school diploma. Once this process was completed, they were assisted in finding job placements in companies through a "work internship contract". This prior training was recognized as the equivalent training that employers were meant to provide under the established regulations. The result was that the young person arrived at the company having already completed the required training programme and the company would provided, him or her, a six month work internship contract. A series of subsidies were also established for those companies who subsequently hired these young people during their "employment".

The programme had two phases as a result of having to adapt to the economic and political changes taking place after its initiation. Starting in 2012, a different group of young people appeared who also had problems integrating into the labour market; these were young people with education, degrees and training who, due to the economic situation, were also having serious difficulties finding work.

2.2.2. Internal organisation and modes of working

The project worked in innovative ways, institutionalising organisations and creating a diverse range of public-private partnerships among different entities and organisations within society and business at the local level. The programme brought together three types of organisations: (a) third sector organisations, (b) local businesses and (c) the government bodies responsible for job placement within the regional government.

The participants in the programme were recruited through third sector organisations and the Employment Offices of the regional government, which organized informational sessions for unemployed young people and selected those who were eligible for the programme. The Youth Council of the city was also involved.

Eight third sector organisations that worked with young people in the city participated in the programme, providing guidance and tutoring for the participants. Each organisation provided a professional to be in charge of selecting the young people to participate in the programme, who would also accompany them throughout the duration of the programme. They were to be their tutors during the training and the work internship.

In addition to the staff provided by the organisations, there were also other staff and tutors from *Barcelona Activa*. All of them were trained by the Open Institute of Catalonia to monitor the on-line training of these young people. Exams took place in the offices of *Barcelona Activa*.

Different training programmes were designed based on the participants' interests and the job resources available. During the first year, 582 young people began their training, and 472 of them passed their exams. Of these, 264 were contracted by companies to do internships.

Due to political changes the programme was altered, which affected the continuity of the programme as designed:

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(1) The first change was related to Barcelona's new municipal government, which is now led by the nationalist/conservative party, after more than thirty years of socialist party led governments. The new phase of the programme contained an important variation: the programme no longer only targeted young people who had dropped out of school but was extended to a broader population due to the critical economic situation, targeting all unemployed young people between the ages of 16 and 25, whether they had finished school (including university) or not. The programme, therefore, now had two branches: One targeting young people who dropped out of school, which maintained the same design as before (training in the areas of hotel and catering, tourism, administration and personal services), and the other offering specialised training for placement in jobs requiring degrees (family mediation, social communication, project management, etc.).

(2) The second and final change came with the closing of the programme by regional government (Generalitat of Catalonia) and its assignment to the "Social Economy" network of the Citizens' Agreement (see the next section). A political decision was made to strengthen businesses and promote self-employment due to "structural needs". It could be said that the active policies designed by the government in recent months have "taken businesses more into account than individuals" (I-5).

2.2.3. The embeddedness of the project in the local welfare system

Both phases of the programme were embedded in the local social welfare system, even though they were two somewhat different processes. In the first phase the programme served as an axis to involve organizations and companies in helping unemployed young people to get training and jobs. In contrast, in this second phase it is the Social Economy network of Barcelona. Among other objectives, it is trying to find solutions to the exclusion of young people from the labour market.

In both phases this issue has been able to unite a range of social and political actors. Diverse stakeholders involved in local social welfare have joined forces to establish innovative forms of action. One of the important lessons to be drawn from this is that local social welfare systems are influenced and may be affected - as in this case- by higher-level regulations and this may impede their development. Although a specific local dynamic may promote social innovation, its success is tied to decisions made at other levels of government in cases where policies depend on public administrations at another territorial level.

2.3. *New local governance on social welfare:* Citizens' Agreement for an Inclusive Barcelona[2]

The Citizens' Agreement for an Inclusive Barcelona is the result of the 2005-2010 Municipal Plan for Social Inclusion that was approved in Barcelona in March 2005. This plan provided the framework for municipal policies aimed at preventing the social exclusion of individuals and groups and the promotion of participation. The Citizens' Agreement (CA) was established in April 2005. The ultimate goal of the programme is a redistribution of responsibilities in the social welfare sector in Barcelona through a broad agreement among representatives of the main social agents in the sector. The intention is to create a strategic framework shared by all participating entities. This is a new philosophy, which integrates the diversity of activities carried out in the local social welfare system into a single framework or joint strategy. It is based on a policy decision to coordinate the

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[2] See, http://www.bcn.cat/barcelonainclusiva/es/que_es.html

diverse activities of the different social actors. No one loses their space for action; on the contrary, it is possible to improve results by combining efforts.

A total of 235 entities of diverse nature (organisations, businesses and universities) signed the Agreement with the aim of establishing alliances, generating synergies, coordinating activities and finding shared objectives with the municipal government and among themselves. It was established with the intention that it would remain open to the incorporation of new entities and social organisations. Since its public presentation, the number of institutions and organisations involved and attached to the Agreement has grown each year. In December 2011, there were a total of 467 participating organisations, institutions and businesses (representing a doubling of the number of participants in five years), and by the end of 2012 there were 500 entities.

It is the result of a process that began 20 years ago with the goal of generating greater participation in the area of social welfare in the city. This process has gone through different phases and at present has taken the form of the Citizens' Agreement.

2.3.1. Types of services and ways of addressing users

The Agreement has been promoted and is coordinated by the municipal government. Currently, the more than 500 participating entities work in such distinct spheres as the economy, culture, education, social action, housing, health and labour. The values that the CA promotes are identified in the strategic framework that defines the programme: co-existence, co-operation, social cohesion, creativity and community. As stated in a CA document: "these values emphasize the need to improve dialogue within a framework of diversity, increase interactions between individuals and organisations, social ties in the community, solidarity, transformative action and social innovation". In addition, from the perspective of the internal administration of the agreement, the desire is for "the values that preside to be closely related to democratic governance, networking and quality of work" (I-12).

Signing the Agreement, means joining a network that provides opportunities for access to and exchange of information, resources and knowledge. It also promotes projects in which co-operation between diverse entities and organisations in the city are key.

2.3.2. Internal organisation and modes of working

The CA is organised on different levels: (a) There is an annual meeting of all the signatories to the agreement, in which participants provide an account of the work they have carried out during the year and agree on the direction of the work for the following year. (b) There is a governing council, which is a deliberative and decision-making body that shapes the development of the agreement and its actions. (c) There are work commissions, formed by organisations that temporarily work on concrete issues, and (d), there are action networks formed by organisations, institutions and other bodies that work in specific sectors, which establish common objectives to improve the work they do. To development of their work has the support of a Technical Secretariat.

The organisations and city institutions in these networks share concrete methodologies and goals; they co-operate and direct their shared work toward common strategic and operational objectives. The networks begin with a desire to work together on a particular issue or matter and to achieve improvements in the respective fields of the participants. Each network is independent and has, based on its objectives, its own dynamics and work plan. At the time of this study (summer 2012), 10 networks had been formed:

- Network for the reception and support of immigrants in Barcelona
- Network for assistance to the homeless
- Network of businesses with social responsibility projects
- Network for social and labour market integration (Now: for "Social Economy")
- Network of centres for children and teens
- Support Network for family caregivers
- Inclusion housing network
- Cultural network for social inclusion
- Network for children's rights
- Network for co-existence and prevention

2.3.3. The embeddedness of the project in the local welfare system

The Citizens' Agreement has had an interesting impact on social welfare policy in the city. Not only has it allowed the sharing of resources and information, but it has also changed forms of governance. The entities involved feel themselves to be actors who have influence on social welfare. It has led to the participation of citizens and social organisations in welfare policies through different forms of deliberation and action. The programme has changed the social welfare system in the city in various ways. For example, the structures of the CA represent a new form of governance, in particular the dynamic in the Executive Commission, which allows and promotes pro-activeness with a very high level of reflection and production of documents (I-6). There is participation in the overall welfare system that also improves or facilitates the activities carried out by each of the participating entities.

The municipal Social Inclusion Plan in its fourth strategic line of action promotes a "shared strategy" with the signatories to the Citizens' Agreement. Its goal is to coordinate public resources with private resources and with social and voluntary initiatives, in order to respond more effectively to social needs in these times of crisis. As stated in the presentation document, the "shared strategy" is itself a plan for the inclusion of all the social actors in the city, whether public or private, commercial or non-profit. The document "Shared Strategy 2012-2017" was presented on April4, 2013 and refers to the activities of the civil society contributing to the Social Inclusion Plan promoted by the City Government.

In addition, direct action depends on the networks. Each of them has their own dynamic and characteristics. Some of the networks have progressed more than others, and some have managed to agree on common citywide projects or programmes. In the following section we will analyse three of the networks forming part of the CA.

2.3.4. Description of three Networks

The Network for Social and Labour Market Integration (now Social Economy Network) was created in April 2006. It is made up of 49 organisations and its objective is to coordinate the effort of public authorities and other social agents that work to find employment for persons in situations of vulnerability. Since the end of 2007, the recession and economic crisis have strengthened the network as a resource that gives a voice to its members and enables them to find solutions by combining efforts. The network has also been "a school", helping its members consolidate as social enterprises that can find their own sources of funding to break with their dependency on government subsidies. In this sense, the network does not directly intervene in the social welfare model but is rather a tool or instrument that can improve the work of the entities involved. It is important to remember at this point that local governments in Spain have no direct competencies over employment policies.

Two years ago, and as a result of two factors - the change in city government and the economic and financial crisis - the network began to rethink its objectives and even changed its name. It is now called the "Social Economy Network". This new focus means that it no longer only targets the most vulnerable groups but that it also attempts to promote the social economy of the city. Along with measures to assist individuals and groups with difficulties, it seeks to promote "entrepreneurship" and social innovation in the workplace, incorporating companies that have corporate social responsibility policies and programmes into the network.

The Network for Assistance to the Homeless was created in November 2005 and constituted by 26 organisations and federations. The social organisations that are participants in this network are committed to working together to help homeless persons regain autonomy and social relations. The network initially arose in order for its members to set goals and plan actions together. They especially wanted to break with the stereotype that actions taken by the government were different from those carried out by the third sector, overcoming a lack of trust between the two sectors.

Various working groups were established and together they have carried out diverse actions, such as the following: a count of the number of homeless persons in Barcelona; preparation of a document with proposals on how to improve healthcare for the mentally ill; coming to agreement on proposals for actions; sharing information and data and, creating an open online catalogue of all the resources and services available through government and other entities. The network has representation and dialogue with officials of local and regional government. The administration, politicians and professionals with responsibility in this area have embraced this new way of working horizontally with third sector organisations. This network has made it possible to create a new form of governance in this area.

Network of Centres for Children and Teens is made up of 17 organisations and was established in April 2006. Its aim is to improve the city's responsiveness to children and adolescents in situations of social risk.

It was an initiative of the organisations that manage or run centres for children and teens (outside school hours), the aim of which was to gain greater recognition for the work they were doing. Through the network the member organisations would work on developing a common model of care for young people for all the centres in the city, even though managed by different entities. Each year the different centres work on a theme that is chosen by all the participants in the network – both public authorities and social organisations. The organisations and the local administration recognise that they share a discourse. Moreover, this discourse has become a reference for other municipalities in the region. It is the network in the CA that has had the greatest impact on the city's social welfare system.

Today there is one model for the centres agreed upon by all. During the work carried out new centres have been established, and today there are centres that depend on the city and centres that depend on the social organisations, all with the same programme for teens and children.

CONCLUSIONS

Each of the projects presented has certain specific characteristics. For this reason, we will look at impact, sustainability and the possibility of diffusion in each of the projects individually.

3.1. Impact

Case 1: Urban revitalization: The La Mina transformation Plan (PTBM)
The PTBM has had a significant impact on neighbourhood revitalisation, in terms of both urban and social reform. Regarding urban transformation, what stands out first of all is that the isolation and segregation of the neighbourhood has been overcome. Secondly, public housing and facilities have increased. The PTMB planned many residents to move into new housing, sub-standard housing has been rehabilitated and lifts installed in many buildings. Finally, the PTBM has contributed to the improvement of the overall conditions of the neighbourhood, having an impact on cleanliness and on the creation of public spaces, etc.

On a social level, using the strategy of social responsibility, companies from the hotel/restaurant sector and the textile sector were involved in the programmes for social and labour market insertion and sheltered employment. For some years the rate of incorporation into the labour market among groups with particular difficulties (young people with low levels of education or training, women and the long-term unemployed) increased. "The issue of labour market integration has been important. Training and insertion have been high. Many people have had the opportunity to access work, to have the experience of employment, in many cases quality employment, with important companies" (I-19). City policy managed to reduce the number of recipients of the minimum income allowance from 150 to 60 during this period. However, beginning in 2008 with the destruction of employment caused by the crisis, this trend could not be maintained.

The neighbourhood has worked too to end its stigmatisation through a communication plan to open the neighbourhood to the rest of the city. In addition, they have worked toward promoting a greater social mix through the construction of public and private housing on the new *rambla*. The commitment to increase security and contribute to a more civic use of public space by residents has also led to a relative improvement in the image of the neighbourhood.

The impact of the action plan has been positive from the perspective of public authorities and neighbourhood residents. However, the neighbourhood still suffers diverse problems, some of them stemming from situations that have not yet been resolved, others from the way the action plan has been implemented and others aggravated by the current crisis (such as the delay in finishing the social housing which has delayed the occupation of the *rambla*).

The impact has been less than expected in terms of the eradication of anti-social behaviour on the part of certain segments of the neighbourhood population. Despite interventions on the common staircases shared by neighbours and in public spaces, the programme has only had limited impact in terms of improving relations among neighbours. To transform attitudes and improve co-existence in the community, the educative aspect of the programme should have been more central than it was. These types of changes happen over the long-term and require a social and educational intervention lasting over several generations.

> *I act on the population without autonomy and which has certain needs and needs us to provide them with educational tools, job placement, training tools and starting from there they reach a level of greater autonomy, and then they are able to respond to other issues such as civic behaviour, personal*

responsibility you have toward your neighbourhood, with your community of neighbours. This takes time that we haven't invested (I-18).

Finally, the plan has also had an important impact on urban governance. It has done so through the promotion of structures of participation and work co-ordinated among experts, politicians and neighbourhood residents. The fact that citizen participation in the project was a condition for its establishment has led to a large number of innovative social activities led by neighbourhood residents, which in turn has meant new patterns of organisation and new ways of making and monitoring decisions.

Case 2: Labour market integration for young people: Young People with a Future
This programme was only in existence for four years, but it is interesting to analyse because it illustrates certain specific difficulties. The current financial crisis, which is having a major impact on Spain, has led to both deep cuts in public spending and changes in public policies. We think this innovative programme is interesting even though it is no longer in effect because it can help us understand some of the obstacles that arise when initiatives started at the local level are subject to laws or regulations from a higher level of government. The local level's closeness to these problems may permit it to successfully address them, as in this specific case; however, the lack of formal competencies – and funding – can ultimately block a project. This is just one example of the obstacles that local welfare systems may face when trying to be innovative in areas that depend on higher levels of government.

We find two different assessments of the impact of this programme. The perspective of the participating organisations is that the impact was less than what those in charge of the programme expected (I-7); while the perspective of the administration is that given the current economic difficulties, there was a certain level of success in reaching 562 work internship contracts (I-5). There were difficulties in reaching the target population as many were still living in the family home and were therefore hard to identify. In addition, there was the problem of finding companies willing to participate in the programme that coincided with the interests "awakened" in the participants doing the training. Finally, the political and economic vicissitudes of recent years have raised new difficulties for the programmes that were designed by the previous government.

Government officials report that the total number of young people who passed the first phase of the training was 421, and of these 264 were able to do an internship in a company. In the second phase of the programme, when young people with degrees entered the programme, there were 168 without qualifications who passed the training period and 199 with qualifications who entered the programme; of these, only 40 had not yet been contracted for an internship at the time of the interview (I-5).

Case 3: New local governance: Citizens' Agreement for an inclusive Barcelona
This programme has had a major impact and one which continues to grow. It is proving to have a broad consensus, which is attracting other entities that have not yet become part of the Agreement. In addition, the organisations involved are very pleased to be able to participate in the governance of the city's social welfare system. To a great extent, the programme's success is a result of the relationships that are formed between the participants, who are essentially working in a network. But they also appreciate the fact that being focused on action, the effects of their actions multiplies. They also value the influence the CA has at times had on municipal authorities (I-8).

In terms of the CA's direct impact on social welfare policies, there have been two networks in particular that have achieved significant results: One is the Network of Centres for Children and Teens, which has agreed on one model for all the city's centres, both public

and private, providing assistance for children and teens at risk. The other is the Network for Assistance to the Homeless, which has created a solid network for the exchange of resources and information.

3.2. Sustainability

Case 1: Urban revitalization: The La Mina Transformation Plan
As regards the sustainability of the urban transformation process, some achievements seem to be quite well established and are likely to go on but others are facing important challenges. Labour market integration programs seemed to be quite successful during the economic boom, helping effectively part of the population to find jobs despite their disadvantage. However, the dramatic change in the employment situation has had very negative effects in this field, heavily affecting a population whose labour market integration was fragile.

Schools in the neighbourhood have had some success, but dropout and absenteeism are still high. According to some local leaders, schools would need a much wider autonomy to select their staff to be able to effectively cope with a young population that has to live with the attraction that drug dealing has by offering a quick and easy way of making money. In this case, both the rigidities of the educational system and the drug business are strong limits to the success of the process.

Social mixture has also been a key element in the program, and freeing land for private homes not only a way of achieving it but also of financing the whole plan. Here results are less encouraging. While some people have come to live to the neighbourhood, a large number of private apartments are still vacant and for sale. The few people who have moved into the neighbourhood often live most of the time in downtown Barcelona.

This also raises the question of the sustainability of the model of financing many public actions in Spain during the last two decades. The model used for many large infrastructures (like train stations) but also for the La Mina plan is based on rezoning that allows land to be sold for a high profit, which is used to fund public action. This allows developing public projects without making taxpayers pay more, albeit with some negative effects on the land market. Whatever the negative effects, the burst of the real estate bubble has put a drastic end to this model, at least for the time being.

Case 2: Labour market integration for young people: Young People with a Future
As was pointed out previously, the programme, Young People with a Future was discontinued. The serious financial crisis in the Spanish government had a major impact on the programme and on other policies and programmes that depend on funding from the central and autonomous regional governments. The finances of the municipal government were sound and showed no deficits or debt.

It is not possible to know whether the changes in the leadership of the municipal government would have affected the approach of the programme if there had not been budgetary problems. The change in the focus of the programme, although said to be the result of a lack of funding, could also have occurred – although perhaps not with the same force – in a moment of economic stability, since the new, more centrist government might have been expected to focus more on self-employment and the development of the social economy as a way to help young people rather than on providing subsidies.

Case 3: New local governance: Citizens' Agreement for an inclusive Barcelona
Everything seems to point to the consolidation of the Citizens' Agreement programme. The new city government has made a commitment to its continuity and seems determined to

expand its impact. The participating organisations believe that "it is not possible to turn back" (I-6). One factor that appears to confirm this is the appearance of "the shared strategy", a step further in the direction of joint work between government and the third sector, differentiating the particular spaces of each sector and the common areas of governance in local social welfare.

3.3. Diffusion

Case 1: Urban revitalization: The La Mina Transformation Plan
The PTBM contains certain aspects that may be useful to implement in other areas. These aspects depend on the design, management and implementation of the plan as well as on the initial start-up conditions. The aspects considered relevant are:

- Joint work among the different government administrations forming the Consortium
- The comprehensive approach of the reform, using both urban reform and social intervention as a way to improve the neighbourhood and the living conditions of its residents.
- The management of the project in relation to integrating citizen participation. The structures that have promoted meetings and debate among agents have made it possible to carry out reforms better suited to the needs of the neighbourhood and based on the opinions of residents.
- The importance of training and technical support to promote participation.
- The programmes that managed to incorporate groups with special difficulties into the labour market
- The fundamental role of social organisations and the neighbourhood association that were already playing an active role in debates and demands for reform in the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood also has a strong active population that has launched projects to solve specific problems in the neighbourhood.

It is also important to take into account the factors that have been obstacles in the process, which are related to the lack of trust in institutional politics. In addition, the neighbourhood residents have had a negative response to the arrival of companies from outside the neighbourhood such as service management firms.

The PTBM has been a reference for the regional government's "Programme for neighbourhoods and urban areas in need of special attention", established in 2003 and which has taken on more than 100 projects in Catalonia, among which we find projects to intervene in the social fabric in residential neighbourhoods with characteristics similar to La Mina.

Case 2: Labour market integration for young people: Young People with a Future
In thinking about the possibilities for the diffusion of innovation, the programme, "Young People with a Future", provides a good example of both the obstacles and opportunities on the local level in designing and implementing social welfare services. There may be ideas, ties, relationships or social conditions on the local level that conflict with the dynamics in the administration responsible for policy. An example of this is found in job placement for young people, which is affected by the specific characteristics of the locality but dependent on the administrative structure of the country, which cannot take into account the different realities that exist on the local level and may therefore actually block innovation by not providing the economic resources needed to carry it out.

The lesson to be learned from this "failed innovation" is to consider the situation in which a programme begins. Precisely at a time when companies were having difficulties it seemed to be an interesting idea to have local government complement their role by

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assuming the costs involved in providing internships or training for young people without qualifications or jobs. But to do this required a network of companies and other entities willing to assume part of these responsibilities. That willingness on the part of different actors was there, but not the funding needed to carry it out.

Case 3: New local governance: Citizens' Agreement for an inclusive Barcelona
It is possible to spread this innovation. In fact, it is a project that has been sparking a lot of interest in other municipalities in Spain and in other countries, as well. However, this is a project that requires a two-way social process. It would not have been possible without the interaction between clear leadership in charge of the project and a dynamic civil society.

For an innovation in governance to become established, a broad consensus is required on the part of all the actors involved. And perhaps, not only a consensus on the idea but also regarding capacity, in other words: on the one hand, a clear idea and the real possibility of designing a new model by the government leaders responsible and on the other hand, the existence of a network of entities that want to be involved and participate in designing and managing the social services of the city.

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ANNEX

People interviewed:

I-1   Former manager of the Social Welfare Area in the City Council Barcelona
I-2   Former manager of Housing Area in the City Council Barcelona
I-3   President of Teacher's Association Rosa Sensat
I-4   Former manager of Education in the Regional Government
I-5   Person in charge of the program "Joves amb futur" – Barcelona Activa
I-6   Member of Social Educators Association and program Acord Ciutadà
I-7   Member of Third Sector organization and program Joves amb futur
I-8   Member of Third Sector organization and Acord Ciutadà
I-9   Former manager of Housing of Regional Government
I-10   Member of Entities Platform of La Mina
I-11   Former manager of Welfare and Participation of City Council Barcelona
I-12   Head of Technical Secretary of Acord Ciutadà
I-13   Member of the Quality of Life Area of the City Council Barcelona
I-14   Person in charge of Social Innovation of City Council
I-15   Former manager of Social Welfare of City Council Barcelona
I-16   Head of the Barcelona Activa Agency
I-17   High Technical (civil servant) of City Council Barcelona
I-18   Councilor of Education of the City of Sant Adria de Besos
I-19   Head of the Social Area of the Consortium of La Mina

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